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ABSTRACT

A study examined how presentation of men and women by selected internal business publications changed from 1978 to 1982. A visual content analysis of three major industry publications was conducted. The total number of individuals shown in the 22 magazines studied was 1,551. Of these individuals, 83% were male and 17% were female. After eliminating formal "back of the book" retirement portraits, 73% of the remaining figures were male and 26% were female. Across time, the number of women pictured declined significantly after 1979. Males and females tended to be pictured either alone or with members of the same sex. Men tended to be shown with men both in and out of the workplace, while women tended to be shown with men outside the workplace. While almost three out of every four men pictured were direct company employees, only one out of every two women pictured was an employee. The findings indicated that differences did occur between the ways men and women were presented and some of those became more exaggerated across the years studied, with the most striking being the significant decline in the number of women shown, in spite of an increase in the number of women joining the work force. (HTH)

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Without Bias? How Selected Employee Publications Depict The Roles of Women and Men Within The Corporate Structure

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During the past decade, accelerating attention has been paid to sexual stereotyping in the media. A large number of studies analysing mass media content have confirmed that widespread sexual stereotyping does exist. Here, sexual stereotyping refers to a set of beliefs concerning sex appropriate roles, interests, behaviors, and appearances. These appropriate roles for men and women stem from both our laws and our social customs.

Within this body of stereotyping research exist a number of studies which specifically investigate employment. These studies have rather consistently shown that media content does not realistically reflect the actual workplace roles of men and women. For example, when occupational portrayals are compared with actual occupational statistics both men and women are overrepresented in some categories and underrepresented in others. For instance, C. Lazer and S. Dier found that according to 1970 census figures both men and women were overrepresented as professionals and underrepresented as clerical workers in magazine fiction.[1] The significance of such

research has been explained by a variety of scholars. For example, Matilda Butler and Bill Paisley concluded that the constant dissemination of such messages reinforces sexual inequality and delays the time when as a society we will ". . .encounter people as individuals not as groups whose characteristics dictate equal or unequal treatment."[2] Gaye Tuchman has argued that such stereotyping is particularly harmful because it "discourages women's occupational aspirations and encourages their underemployment."[3] Further, Tuchman contends that "these stereotypes may influence women as prospective employees as well as employers who may limit women's job opportunities."[4] Such stereotyping may also contribute to the seemingly perpetual lower pay for women in positions equal to mens and promotion biases.

In spite of the large number of studies which have focused on employment stereotypes in the mass media, few studies have analysed occupational portrayals in more specialized media tied directly to the employment site, the internal corporate publication.[5] This omission from the literature may in large part be due simply to the relative youth of the area within the academic arena. For example, sociologists Ann Stromberg and Shirley Harkess observed in the preface to their 1978 book Working Women that until the late 1960's and early 1970's with few notable exceptions, empirical investigations as well as theoretical analyses of work processes and structures focused on men and omitted women from all consideration except that which treated the relationship between work and family.[6] Similarly, an overwhelming majority of the studies cited in two of the major source books in this area, Women and the Mass Media: Sourcebook for Research and Action and Hearth and Home: Images of Women

in the Mass Media, were conducted after 1970.[7] Quite naturally, the bulk of these studies looked at images circulated to the largest possible audiences. However, not that a significant body of employment stereotyping research based on the mass media has been amassed, attention can profitably be turned toward media which reach smaller more targeted audiences.

Specialized media present to the researcher interested in occupational portrayals an interesting new universe to explore. Such publications enjoy high readership and credibility. Such publications are farily numerous. According to the1982/83 edition of Working Press of the Nation's Internal Publications Directory, more than 3,500 corporations and organizations are currently publishing over 4,000 magazines and newsletters which have a total circulation of more than 160 million.[8] Of course, these publications carry a variety of messages to their audiences. Visable among these messages are images concerning men's and women's roles within those organizations. These images are not fictional. Rather, the roles presented are those actually filled by people who may well be known to one another. If as Tuchman and others argue, mass media portrayals which are largely fictional influence men's and women's occupational aspirations, then it follows that the images carried by these internal company publications are also of potential influence. For example, if women do not see themselves as hard hat laborers in company publications, but do see themselves as corporate wives or administrative assistants, then their aspirations and ideas concerning job opportunities may align themselves accordingly. If the publication is read at home, then family members including children may receive the same message and the stereotype is perpetuated. If men do not

see themselves in clerical positions, careers in the area for them may seem unnatural or foreign. In short, stereotyping could occur which could discourage individuals from pursuing non-traditional roles because the company publication sbutly but firmly reinforces the notion that such things don't happen here.

Corporate communicators are aware of the potential influence of their messages and have thoughtfully addressed the issue. Perhaps one of the most significant manifestations of this concern is With Bias: A Guidebook for Nondiscriminatory Communication.[9] Published initially in 1977 by the International Association of Business Communicators and enlarged and revised in 1982, the book is a comprehensive guide for identifying and eliminating biases. The book specifically considers ethnic and racial biases, sexual bias, age bias, and disability bias in both verbal and visual content. Another business communicator who has specifically addressed the stereotyping of women at work is Walter Anderson. In his book, Handbook of Business Communications, Anderson asserts that while business communicators have no trouble identifying the typical male American worker, they have considerable trouble identifying the typical female worker. Based upon observations drawn from company publications, Anderson concluded that when writing about women, business communicators were writing about "...a creature who, in fact, doesn't exist...the woman at work is usually regarded as something less than a real person, certainly less than her male counterpart, and only 58% of a man in terms of wage and salary."[10] Anderson further observed that many of the articles gave the impression that business has never discriminated against women and that now all is well with the world. His advice to business communicators was to start with the premise

that women are and have been treated unfairly in the work place, remove patronizing tones from their communications, and stress the positive aspects of women at work through personal profiles and case histories.[11]

But, have corporate communicators translated the principles articulated into actual editorial policy? The most general purpose of this study is to begin to answer that question. More specifically, this inquiry asked the following question: Has the presentation of men and women by selected internal publications changed during the time period 1978-1982? Additional questions guiding the study are: How many men and how many women were shown? Who are men and women shown with? In what contexts are men and women presented? Are men and women depicted in traditional or nontraditional occupational roles? Are these portrayals in line with national employment statistics? Do men and women seem to be presented as equal or unequal in status?

In order to answer these questions an analysis of the visual content of three major industry internal publications was conducted for the time period 1978 and 1982. Because of the relative recency of extensive consideration given the issue by corporate communicators, the study looked at the time period 1978-1982. This time period spans most of the years between the 1st and 2nd editions of Without Bias. Visual content was selected for the primary unit of analysis both because of the power of visual images and because such images have rarely been the subject of research in the area. Visual anthropologist John Collier has called the camera record one of the most fertile for social science analysis because it is "...least abstract of all recorded information."[12] Photographs

disseminate what has been termed surrogate direct experience.[13] That is, the visual media including photographs have mastered what Daniel Boorstin calls pseudoevents marked by simplicity and the potential for stereotypy.[14] Further, such manners of presentation "are seductive and memorable in a society where complexity causes information overload."[15] In addition, as is discussed in Without Bias, the photograph can easily be the most obvious reinforcer of the image of women as pretty, sociable, and shallow. Commonly referred to as cheesecake, such photographs are singled out by Without Bias as particularly demeaning.[16] That company publications still use cheesecake photographs is reflected in Working Press of the Nation's Internal Publications Directory. The Directory's Editorial Subject Index listing types of material accepted for publication indicates that while the number of publications soliciting cheesecake material has declined from 142 in the initial year of this study, 100 publications still listed cheesecake as one of their interest areas in 1982.[17] However, in spite of the importance of visual images and their particular potential for perpetuating stereotypes, Butler and Paisley note that few studies have focused on photographs and suggest that future work should.[18]

The lack of studies dealing with photographs is in large part related to methodological problems. However, recent advances in the area have given researchers needed assistance. This study was designed along the lines set forth by sociologist Jon Wagner in his valuable work Images of Information: Still Photography in the Social Sciences.[19] More specifically, the study implemented Wagner's strategies for avoiding errors in photograph analysis. Those include the use of several analysts, the examination of a random

sample, the assessing of photograph content in light of other data (in this case captions and text), and the overall framing of the study as a content analysis with systematic, discrete categories.[20]

The categories for this study were designed following John Collier's suggestion that patterns in visual content are best identified through the integration of a three level analysis which includes an item listing, a categorical listing, and an inventory of significance.[21] For example, in this study, number of people by sex provides an item list, the identification of occupational roles provides a categorical list, and the status portrayal in the photograph provides an inventory of significance.

Publications Sampled

The publications selected for analysis are all slick magazines of reasonably long tenure having fairly large circulations and running a comparable number of pages per year. In an attempt to eliminate the potential of an industry bias from the study, publications representing different industries were selected. Twenty percent of the issues published during the time period were coded. The sample was drawn so that at least one issue per year per magazine was read and so that across the study no single month or time of year would be overly represented to avoid potential seasonal differences. The publications analysed are Alcoa News, Standard Oiler, and Ralston Purina magazine.

Established in 1930, Alcoa News is currently a monthly publication of the Aluminum Company of America. The publication is primarily written for employees and retirees and estimates its circulation at 58,000.[22] The publication underwent more format changes than did

any of the others studied. In January--February 1978, the publication was issued as a two color magazine which included a formal back of the book section, "The 25-Year Club." Thereafter, the publication kept its editorial focus, but changed its name to Alcoa Newsmagazine, a four-color publication with no formal back of the book section. Alcoa Newsmagazine was published 4 times in 1979 and 6 times in 1980. After 1980, the publication was once again called Alcoa News, but issued monthly. The editorial staff changed more than did any of the staffs of the other two publications. In 1978, Jack Harper was editor. In 1979, Nancy Nelson was editor. In 1980, Mary Jo King became editor and remained as such for the remaining years studied. However, the position of editorial assistant was filled by Kevin Knight in 1980, Bob Larsen in early 1981, and Ellen Duncan in late 1981. Duncan remained in that position through 1982. During the time period studied, 40 issues were published. The eight read were: Jan/Feb 1978, 1979:3; 1979:4; Dec 1980; May 1981; Jan 1982; March 1982; Oct 1981. A typical issue currently contains 16 pages. In 1979, editor Nancy Nelson described the purpose of the publication as promoting the success of the company and the well being of its employees.[23]

Established in 1938, Standard Oiler is published 8 times a year by the Public Affairs Staff of the Standard Oil Company of California. An average issue contains 32 pages plus covers and circulates to over 50,000 employees and retirees.[24] With its March/April 1980 issue, the publication went four color. The publication's editor Charles Michals described the editorial focus of the magazine as trying to include something for everyone in its diverse audience. Michals also described the publication as a type of defense

against negative attitudes about the oil industry. He said: "In communicating, I believe that employees deserve the most, the best, and the first. Our industry presently is under siege. Right now we are being classed with used-car salesmen and I believe employees have a role to play in setting the record straight with their families, friends, and the public at large."[25] Michals served as editor for each of the years studied. John Hines served as associate editor in 1979 and in 1980 Alexander Mackie took over that job. Each issue of the publication has a formal back of the book section including a photo spread of retirees. During the time period studied, 40 issues were published. The eight read were: March/April 1978; June/July 1978; Aug 1979; May 1980; May 1981; Sept/Oct 1981; May 1982; Sept/Oct 1982.

Established in 1966, Ralston Purina Magazine is the youngest of the three studied. Published primarily for employees, the publication has a circulation of 21,000.[26] The magazine is bimonthly. A typical issue contains 32 pages plus cover. A second color is usually used only on the cover. The publication does have a short back of the book section which does not include a sea of mug shots. The editorial chain of command remained fairly stable throughout the years studied. Harriet Blickenstaff was magazine editor/photographer the entire time. From 1978-1980, Karen Kozal was assistant editor/photographer. During 1980, Claudia Burris took over the position and held it through the end of the study. The main aims of the publication are "to maintain good employee morale via regular communication; to inform employees of company developments and progress; to foster a feeling of responsibility and personal involvement in the company among employees and their families; to act as a forum for employee questions and opinions; to recognize and acknowledge accomplishments

of individuals and groups; to explain company policy; to develop loyalty to the company, and to encourage employees to be responsible citizens."[27] During the time period studied, 30 issues were published. The six read were: July/Aug 1978; Oct 1979; 1980:1 1980:5; 1981:4; 1982:3.

The Findings

For the purposes of this study, the photograph was the unit of analysis. Photographs reproduced either totally or in part within a table of contents were only coded when appearing in an article. So, these photos were only coded once. No employee photo contest photos were found in these issues. Thus, the publications' staffs were responsible for either taking or selecting all the photographs coded as part of the magazine's editorial content.

The twenty-two magazines analysed contained 1257 photographs. Of the 1257 photographs, 172 or 13.68% contained either no people or the people present were judged to be a natural part of the setting. People were considered to be a natural part of the setting if they were not named in the copy or caption and were presented as part of a large group (ie an overview shot of a crowded fairgrounds or a head-on shot of the beginning of a marathon). The remaining 1085 photographs coded contained at least one person.

The total number of individuals shown in the magazines was 1551. Of these individuals, 1283 or 82.72% are male and 268 or 17.28% are female. However, because a large number of back of the book retirement and service anniversary portraits are included in these totals, the figures are somewhat misleading for the purposes of a study primarily concerned with contemporary images. After a brief discussion, these back of the book photographs will be dropped

from the analysis.

Only two of the magazines contained formal back of the book portrait sections. Of these two, the Alcoa News ran such portraits in only one of the issues coded. Thus, Standard Oiler was the only magazine studied which ran formal back of the book portraits in every issue. The retirement and service anniversary portraits rather graphically reflect that yesterday's work force was male dominated. Of the 637 individuals shown in these sections, only 25 are women. The remaining 612 (96%) are men.

After factoring out the back of the book portraits, 448 photographs with 914 individuals remain. Of these 671 or about 73.4% are male and 243 or 26.6% are female. If all of the individuals pictured were employees, these figures would differ significantly from U.S. Bureau of Labor statistics which indicate that across the time period studied, the U.S. labor force was approximately 42% female and 58% male.[8] However, not all the individuals pictured were employees nor were all adults. While the actual relationship of each individual to the company is discussed in more detail later, it is significant to note that of the individuals pictured, 124 or 13.56% were children high school age or under. Although more boys than girls were shown (74 to 50), proportionately females were depicted as children almost twice as frequently as were males. That is, almost 21% of all females (50 of 243) were high school age or under compared with 11% of all males (74 of 671) shown high school age or under. However, much of this difference can be attributed to Standard Oiler. Of all females shown in that magazine, 26.88% were children. Of all the males shown only 8.6% were children. In the other two magazines coded, the proportion of adults to children

by sex was relatively equal (Ralston Purina 23.5% boys; 25% girls; and Alcoa News 7.8% boys; 6.6% girls).

While discussing sheer numbers of males and females depicted, it is also important to consider whether each magazine studied contained similar proportions of men and women and whether these proportions changed across time. As shown in Table 1, of the adults shown about 76% (597 of 790) are men and about 24% (193 of 790) are women. In all three publications, the number of men shown outnumber the number of women shown. This generalization holds for all magazines and all years except one issue of one magazine. In 1979, Ralston Purina presented 49 females and 37 males. Of the females, 38 were adults and 11 children. Of the males, 32 were adults and 5 children. So at both the adult and child levels, females outnumbered men. Table 1 also reflects that Ralston Purina came much closer than the other magazines did to presenting males and females in a way comparable to the U.S. Bureau of Labor statistics. More specifically, Ralston Purina overall was about 38.45% female and 61.53% male.

By looking at the numbers of men and women depicted across time, an interesting phenomenon is discovered. As is shown in both Tables 1 and 2, the number of women pictured declined significantly after 1979. Because the number of female children shown remains fairly stable across the sample, this decline is peculiar to adult females. The decline is most striking during 1981 and 1982. On the other hand, while the number of boys fluctuates during the time period studied, the number of adult males climbs slightly after 1980. Because of the sharp decline in the number of women and the slight rise in the number of men, the overall ratio of men to women is the greatest

TABLE 1

Male/Female By Magazine and Year

	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982
Standard Oiler					
Adult female	16	12	15	16	9
Girls	8	2	7	2	6
Total female	24	14	22	18	15
Adult male	90	26	29	82	81
Boys	7	6	7	2	7
Total male	97	32	36	84	88
Ralston Purina					
Adult female	14	38	28	2	1
Girls	5	11	1	3	2
Total female	19	49	29	5	3
Adult male	15	32	38	29	22
Boys	6	5	0	3	18
Total male	21	37	38	32	40
Alcoa News					
Adult female	18	8	6	3	7
Girls	1	1	0	1	0
Total female	19	9	6	4	7
Adult male	72	30	20	11	20
Boys	8	1	0	2	2
Total male	80	31	20	13	22

TABLE 2

OVERALL MALE/FEMALE TOTALS BY YEAR

	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982
Adult female	48	58	49	21	17
Girls	14	14	8	6	8
Total female	62	72	57	27	25
Adult male	177	88	87	122	123
Boys	21	12	7	7	27
Total male	198	100	94	129	150

in the final two years studied. For example, in the first year of the study, men outnumbered women about 4.5 to 1 and in 1971 the ratio dropped to 2.5 to 1. However, in 1981 men outnumbered women over 6 to 1 and in 1982 this rose to over 7 to 1. Thus, in general, women were less visible during the final years studied than they were during the initial years. As Table 1 reflects, while this difference is true for two of the three publications, the details which accomplished it are different. While the number of men shown in Ralston Purina remains fairly stable, the number of women declined slightly. In the Standard Oiler, the number of women remained relatively small but constant, the number of men rose strikingly. The ratio of men to women in Alcoa News remained at about 3 to 1 from 1980-1982.

While rather obvious differences in the numbers of men and women presented exist, were these men and women shown in similar ways? One of the simplest ways to investigate manner of presentation is to analyse the male/female composition of each photograph. Of the 448 photographs, 290 (64.7%) contain only males, 91 (20.3%) contain males and females together, and 67 (15%) show females only. Of course, these overall differences can in part be attributed to the substantially larger number of males shown. If the manner of presentation is analysed in terms of the number of individuals, a useful perspective is gained. Of the 671 males shown, 463 or 69% were shown either alone (179) or together with other males. Similarly, of the 243 females pictured, 156 or 64.2% were pictured either alone (52) or with other females. These figures are shown in Table 3. Thus, only 31% of the males and 35% of the females were shown with one another. Thus, in this sense males and females were treated in

TABLE 3
Numbers of Male and Female Only Photographs

1 male only	179
2 males only	77
3 males only	16
4 males only	11
5 males only	4
6 males only	3
Total male only photos	290
1 female only	52
2 females only	9
3 females only	3
5 females only	1
6 females only	1
16 females only	1
Total female only photos	67

a manner which tended to be separate but equal. When men and women were presented together, about half the time each sex was equally represented in the photograph (ie, 1 male and 1 female; 2 males and 2 females, etc.). In 38 photographs, the males outnumbered the females by as little as 1 and as much as twelve. In 9 photographs females outnumbered males by as little as 1 and as much as 2.

Further information about the manner in which men and women were presented can be gained by looking at the relationship to the company of each individual pictured. As shown in Table 4, 623 or 63% of the individuals pictured were direct company employees. However, of the men pictured, 495 of 671 or 73.7% were company employees. Of the 243 women shown overall, only 128 or 52.67% were company employees. Thus, while almost 3 out of every 4 men pictured were employees, only 1 out of every 2 women pictured was an employee. Further, these numbers provide a basis for comparison with the U.S.

Labor Bureau statistics. Of the employee universe coded, 128 or 20.5% was female and 495 or 79.45% was male. When compared with the Labor Bureau statistics which indicate that for the time period studied the national labor force was 42% female and 58% male, these differences are highly significant ($x^2 = 117.71 < .001$).

TABLE 4

Relationship To Company By Sex

	Male	Female
Employee	495	128
Employee spouse	4	20
Employee child	25	18
Retiree	16	1
Retiree spouse	0	1
Shareholder/ Board Member	0	1
Customer	6	1
Volunteer	1	2
Outside Company	115	68
Can't Determine	9	3

As shown in Table 5, the distribution of employees by sex across time reveals that the proportion of male employees to all males shown remained fairly constant, but the number of female employees in relation to all females shown fluctuates. For example, in only 1979 and 1980 did the number of women employees actually outnumber the total of all other females shown. The difference was greatest in 1979 when women employees outnumbered non-women employees by almost 2 to 1. And, during 1981 and 1982 non-employee females

TABLE 5

Relationship to Company by Sex and Year

	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982
Males					
Employee	158	75	72	82	108
Employee spouse	2	1	0	1	0
Employee child	15	3	0	5	2
Retiree	0	1	1	3	2
Customer	2	0	0	4	0
Volunteer	0	1	0	0	0
Outside Company	18	19	15	25	37
Can't Determine	3	0	2	3	1
Females					
Employee	27	50	29	11	11
Employee spouse	13	2	3	1	1
Employee child	10	2	1	4	1
Retiree	0	0	1	0	0
Retiree spouse	0	0	0	1	0
Shareholder	0	0	1	0	0
Customer	1	0	0	0	0
Volunteer	0	1	0	1	0
Outside Company	8	17	22	9	12
Can't Determine	3	0	0	0	0

actually outnumbered female employees 16 to 11 and 14 to 11 respectively. Thus, during the last two years of the study, if a woman was pictured, she was somewhat less likely to be an employee than she was earlier in the study. However, no matter when a man was shown, he was more likely than not to be a company employee.

If the remaining 38% of the individuals coded were not employees, what relationships did they have to the company and were these relationships related to sex? As shown in Tables 4 and 5, a number were members of employee families. For example, twenty-four

(2.6%) of the individuals were employee spouses. Of these, 4 were employee husbands and 20 were employee wives. However, as shown in Table 5 is it significant to note that the number of employee wives shown declined rather dramatically over time. Forty-three (4.7%) of the individuals shown were employee children or grandchildren. Of these children, 25 were boys and 18 were girls. Table 5 shows a slight overall decline in the number of employee children regardless of sex.

A number of other individuals were related to the company in some way. Since two of the three publications include retirees specifically when stating perceived audience, it is not surprising that at least some retirees were shown. Overall, 17 retirees and 1 retiree spouse were shown. Of the retirees, 16 were men and 1 was a women. The retiree spouse was female. Of the other 10 individuals in some way related to the company: one female was a shareholder/member board of directors; 6 males and 1 female were customers; and, 1 male and 2 females were company volunteers. The actual relationship of 9 males and 3 females to the company could not be determined.

The remaining 183 individuals (20% of all individuals pictured), were individuals outside the company. Of these 115 were male and 68 were female. These figures reflect 17.13% of the total male population and 27.98% of the total female population. Thus, a larger percentage of women were shown as individuals external to the company. Who were these people? More than half of them were children who tended to be participating in some kind of company sponsored program or event. For example, 16 boys were shown in Ralston Purina sponsored hockey schools and a number of boys and girls were

shown enjoying a Ralston Purina sponsored Tom Mix festival. Also, some of the adults pictured were recipients of some kind of benefit from the company. For example, one deaf woman was shown working with her Hearing Ear Dog (which had been in part underwritten by Ralston Purina dealers). Her husband and three female dog trainers were also shown. In addition, a variety of elected officials were shown including one former President (Jimmy Carter), one governor, and a number of mayors and other municipal officials. Of these officials only one mayor was female. Several individuals were members of the media. Of these 7 were male reporters, 1 was a male talk show host, 3 were female talk show hosts, 2 were male advertising agency account executives, and 1 was a female account executive. The other individuals represented a variety of roles from mechanics to turkey farmers to Santa Claus, to puppeteers to flight attendants.

Overall, these relationship to the company figures show that men were much more likely than were women to be shown as employees and that women were more likely than men to be presented as having no direct tie to the company. In addition, the Labor Bureau statistics concerning the overall proportion of men and women in the work force are not reflected in the proportions of male and female employees shown in these publications. In general, in this sample, women workers are significantly underrepresented and male workers are significantly overrepresented.

Another factor related to the manner in which people are presented is the context within which they are shown. That is, are people shown at work or away from work? If they are shown at work, are they with peers or with family members, or with people external to the company? As reflected in Table 6, of the 448

TABLE 6

Photograph Context And The Sexes

	Male Only	Female Only	Together
In Job Setting			
Alone/With Peers	133	33	17
With Family Members	0	1	4
With Non-Employee Tied To The Company	2	0	0
With Someone External To The Company	11	2	4
Total	146	36	25
Outside Job Setting			
Alone	72	9	2
With Others From Work	18	1	12
With Non-Employee Tied To The Company	4	0	0
With Family Member(s)	3	0	22
With Someone External To The Company	23	1	15
Total	120	11	51
No Context	3	1	3
Other	21	19	12
Total	24	20	15

photographs, 207 (46% showed people within the work environment. The remaining 241 photographs either showed people outside the work environment, had no context, or contained only individuals external to the company. For example, 7 photographs were cut outs and therefore judged as having no context. The 52 photographs coded as other contained only people external to the company. Therefore, contexts were not as specifically coded because the individuals shown were not employees and were not interacting with employees. For example, a non-employee woman was shown at home with her Hearing Ear dog, young people were shown at a youth diabetes camp, and runners

were shown participating in a marathon. The non-employees tied to company referred to in Table 6 were retirees, board members, customers, or volunteers.

As reflected in Table 6, the separate but proportionately equal treatment mentioned earlier concerning photograph composition also holds true for photograph context. That is, 146 or 49.65% of the male only photographs showed men in the work environment either alone or with other men from work. Thirty-six or 53.7% of the 67 female only photographs showed women in the job setting either alone or with other women from work. However, only 25 or 27.4% of the photographs which showed men and women together showed them together at work. Thus, when men and women were shown together, they tended to be located outside the work environment. It is also interesting to note that when a woman was shown outside the work place only rarely was she shown with other women from work. In fact, only one photograph showed a female employee outside work with another woman from work. On the other hand, 18 photographs showed male employees outside the work environment with other men from work. Men were also shown more frequently with other men from outside the organization. Twenty-three photographs showed at least one male employee with other males external to the company. However, only one photograph showed a female employee together with another female from outside the company. Thus, men were shown to do things outside the work environment with other men much more frequently than women were shown outside the work environment doing things with other women. When women were shown outside the work environment, they tended to be shown with men.

The final categorical listing, occupational roles, is one of

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the most important for the purposes of this study and therefore, the data gathered in this section will be discussed in several ways. The categories were designed to parallel those used by the U.S. Labor Bureau. The number of males and females by occupational category and magazine is shown in Table 7. Occupational totals by year are included in Table 8.

TABLE 7

Occupational Roles By Sex and Magazine

	S. Oiler	A. News	R. Purina	Total
White Collar Professional				
Males	150	80	23	253
Females	20	11	17	48
Clerical				
Males	14	0	4	18
Females	14	3	1	18
Sales				
Males	13	0	24	37
Females	0	1	7	8
Blue Collar				
Males	91	58	39	188
Females	6	5	5	16
Service				
Males	1	0	0	1
Females	0	0	0	0
Other				
Males	64	28	63	155
Females	46	20	58	104
Can't Determine				
Males	4	0	15	19
Females	7	25	17	49

TABLE 8

Occupational Roles By Sex and Year

	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982
White Collar Professionals					
Males	96	35	26	47	49
Females	14	7	19	3	5
Clerical					
Males	5	1	1	6	5
Females	2	7	4	4	1
Sales					
Males	4	8	6	7	12
Females	3	3	1	1	0
Service					
Males	0	0	0	0	1
Females	0	0	1	0	0
Other					
Males	40	22	18	38	37
Females	35	30	17	8	14
Can't Determine					
Males	2	15	0	1	1
Females	1	25	12	11	0
Blue Collar					
Males	51	18	44	30	45
Females	7	1	3	0	5

As the overall totals indicate, 293 individuals were shown as white collar professionals including managers, administrators, and technical personnel; 36 were clerical workers; 45 were sales personnel; 188 were blue collar workers; and, 1 was a non-household service worker (a janitor). The occupational categories of 68 adults could not be determined from the information presented. The remaining 249 individuals had either no occupational role (as in the case of children and retirees) or had occupational roles outside the company (as in the case of elected officials and turkey

farmers). In order to provide a more realistic basis for comparison with Labor Bureau work force statistics, the individuals in these latter two categories (other and can't determine) will not be considered in this section's analysis.

Labor Bureau statistics indicate that across the time period studied, about 48.6% of the U.S. work force held white collar jobs. Of the 587 individuals with identificable occupational roles in the companies whose publications were coded, 301 or about 52% held white collar jobs. Therefore, while slightly overrepresented in terms of occupational categories, the number of white collar professionals pictured in this study was in line with the number of white collar professionals in the Labor Bureau statistics. However, the Labor Bureau statistics also indicate that of this white collar labor force, 50.2% were male and 49.8% were female. Of the study white collar professionals, 253 or 84.05% were male and 48 or 15.95% were female. These differences are highly significant ($x^2 = 139 < .001$). Further, as Table 8 shows, the number of women professionals peaked in 1980 and declined significantly thereafter. This phenomenon parallels the overall study finding discussed earlier, that the number of women declined significantly after 1980. On the other hand, the number of men shown as white collar professionals was relatively stable for 1981 and 1982. Thus, while women were consistently underrepresented as professionals throughout the sample, this underrepresentation was at its worst during the last two years studied. As Table 7 shows, the extreme underrepresentation of women holds for 2 of the 3 magazines. In both Alcoa News and Standard Oiler, white color men outnumbered white collar women 8 to 1. However the white color men and women

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presented in Ralston Purina were much more in line with Labor Bureau statistics. In RP, the white collar force was 57.5% male and 42.5% female. When compared with Labor Bureau statistics, these differences are not significant ($x^2 = .899 > .3$).

Clerical and kindred office workers made up 4.7% of the general work force according to Labor Bureau statistics. Of those individuals with identifiable occupations in the sample 36 or 6.13% were clerical workers. Thus, once again, the overall figures from the Labor Bureau and the figures in the sample are in reasonable alignment. Labor Bureau statistics indicate that of the clerical workers, 55.20% were male and 44.79% were female. Within the sample 50% of the clerical workers were male and 50% were female. The differences between Labor Bureau and statistics are not significant ($x^2 = .39523 > .5$). As shown in Table 8, the number of clerical workers did not vary greatly across the time period and as Table 7 indicates the presentation of clerical workers by sex did not vary significantly among the magazines. Although the numbers are too small to be extremely significant, it is interesting to note that Ralston Purina showed more male clerical workers than it did female (4 males and 1 female). Overall, in the sample figures men are slightly underrepresented as clerical workers and women are slightly overrepresented, but these differences in representation are not statistically significant.

Eight percent of the work force held sales jobs according to Labor Bureau statistics. Of these individuals employed in saled jobs, 76.63% were male and 23.36% were female. Of the sample work force, 7.6% were shown in sales positions. Thus, the percentage of sales personnel in the Labor Bureau statistics and the

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percentage in the sample were almost equal. Of the sample sales personnel, 82.22% (37) were male and 17.77% (8) were female. These figures do not differ significantly from Labor Bureau statistics (x^2 = .1235 $>$ .5). As shown in Table 7, the presentation of sales personnel by sex did differ somewhat among the magazines coded. For example, one-third of the male sales personnel were shown in Standard Oiler. And, Standard Oiler included no female sales personnel. Only 1 sales person was shown in Alcoa News and that person was female. The remaining two-thirds of the salesmen pictured were in Ralston Purina. Ralston Purina also pictured 7 women in sales. Overall, the Ralston Purina statistics mirrored closely the percentages of male and female sales personnel recorded by the Labor Bureau. Of the Purina sales force pictured, 77.41% was male and 22.58% female. Only 1 non-household service worker was shown. This individual was male. Since Labor Bureau figures indicate that 9.2% of the work force was employed in such non-household service positions, the occupational category itself was significantly underrepresented in the sample.

The most glaring difference between the sample work force and the Labor Bureau work force occurred in the category blue collar worker. The Labor Bureau found that 15.15% of the work force was blue collar (operatives, transport workers, and non-farm labor). However, the sample work force was 34.75% blue collar. This difference is significant (x^2 = 148 $<$ .001). The Labor Bureau statistics indicate that the blue collar force was 73.52% male and 26.47% female. The sample blue collar force was 92.56% male and 7.84% female. When compared with Labor Bureau statistics, these differences are significant (x^2 = 108.106 $<$ .001). Thus,

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in terms of blue collar workers, men were extremely overrepresented in the sample and women were significantly underrepresented.

Overall, as the figures representing occupational categories indicate, men and women were not always realistically presented. As Table 7 indicates, women were relatively evenly distributed in small numbers across the occupational categories, but men tneded to pool in the white and blue collar categories. While the proportions of men and women were rather accurately reflected in the clerical and slaes categories, women were significantly underrepresented as both white and blue collar workers. Men were significantly overrepresented as both white and blue collar workers.

As a measure of significance, the photographs were analysed for dominance status. Dominance was defined in accordance with the definitions included in the visual communication section of Without Bias.[29] That is, did the visual message show one person open and relaxed suggesting dominance while the other is rigid and motionless suggesting inferiority and lack of power? For example, seeing a man seated at a desk while a woman stands by him or in front of the desk signals the viewer that the man is probably dominate in the relationship. On the other hand, if both are seated on the same side of the desk or seated around a round table, then the message indicates they are equal in status. As Table 9 shows, almost half of the photographs had no status portrayal. No status portrayal occurred when only one person was shown. Table 9 also shows that when men were found interacting with men most of the time the relationship was judged to be without a dominant actor. For example, for only male photographs, 98 of 109 were judged to show peer relationships. However, for women only photographs, a

slightly different pattern emerges. When women were shown together, in 11 photographs one of the women was judged to be dominant over the others. In 7 photographs, women were judged to be equal in status with one another. Since the number of women only photographs is so much smaller than the number of male only photographs, simple frequency of inclusion may have been a factor here. When men and women were shown together, neither sex was consistently shown as dominant. For example, in 73 of the together photographs, the status portrayals were judged as equal.

TABLE 9
Status Portrayal

Status	Photographs
Male over male	10
Male over female	4
Male over together	7
Female over male	2
Female over female	11
Female over together	0
Male only peer	98
Female only peer	7
Peer together	73
Female over children	3
Male over children	3
No Status Portrayal	230

While magazine cover photographs have been included throughout the study, the dominant position of such photographs dictates a brief separate discussion. Of the 22 magazines, half had no people covers. Within this context, it is interesting to note that none of the six Ralston Purina Magazines had a person on the cover. Of the 8 Standard Oilers and Alcoa News, 2 and 3 issues respectively

had no people covers. Of the Standard Oiler and Alcoa News covers with people, none showed a woman alone or with another woman. In fact, only 3 covers included women. And, of these women, only 1 was an employee. She was a pipeline laborer pictured at work in a peer status with a male pipeline laborer. The other women shown on covers were employee relatives. One cover featured a main refinery head operator showing his wife, three daughters, and one son around the refinery. The other cover contained four separate photographs. Three were portraits at different ages of a recently deceased male company president and board chairman. In the third photo, he is shown socially with the two nieces of another employee. The remaining eight covers featured men who tended to be blue collar laborers shown alone at work. More specifically, six covers featured one male blue collar laborer at work. The remaining two covers each showed two men working. One of these featured a blue collar laborer working with his supervisor. Both men are wearing hard hats. The other cover showed two male white collar managers working together in suits. Therefore, if an individual was shown on a cover, that individual tended to be a male working alone and wearing a hard hat.

Summary and Discussion

As the findings indicate, differences did occur between the ways in which men and women were presented and some of these differences became more exaggerated across the years studied. Perhaps the most striking difference was the significant decline in the number of women shown during the time period. While women were declining in overall visibility, men increased in visibility during the last two years studied. In overall manner of presentation,

a man's chances of being shown as an employee were much greater than a woman's chances. Women were shown as either non-employee tied to the company or outside the company as frequently as they were shown as employees. And, in the last two years studied, a woman's chances of being shown as an employee were actually less than during the first two years studied. However, when a man was pictured he was much more frequently than not an employee. These relationship to the company differences overall may well suggest to the readers that men are much more central to the actual functioning of the company than are women. One important difference in the relationship area was noted among the numbers of employee wives shown across time. As discussed earlier, the number of employee wives shown did decrease substantially across the years studied. Thus, the publications seemed to be moving away from the image of the corporate wife.

Differences in the ways men and women were shown were also found. Men tended to be shown with men at work and women tended to be shown with women at work. However, when out of the work place, men still tended to be shown with men, but women tended to be shown with men. These images tend to reinforce the traditional images of men spending time out of work "with the boys" and women needing to interact with men during time out of work.

Occupational portrayals were in line with national employment statistics in the sales and clerical categories. However, in both blue collar and white collar positions, women were significantly underrepresented and men were significantly overrepresented. Thus, occupational portrayals did tend to reinforce the traditional roles

of women as clerical workers and men as professional white collar workers and blue collar laborers. However, no cheesecake photographs were found.

The generalizations hold without exception for two of the three magazines coded. However, Ralston Purina Magazine was more realistic in its treatment of the sexes than were the other magazines. In Ralston Purina, the proportion of male to female employees was more in line with the proportion of male to female workers in the Labor Bureau statistics. Also, Ralston Purina's occupational portrayals by sex were more in line with Labor Bureau occupational statistics.

Overall, women seemed to lose rather than gain ground in the battle for realistic, unbiased presentation. Fewer women were shown during the last two years of the study than were shown in the initial years of the study. This was not true for men. Throughout the study, women were much less likely to be shown as employees than were men. And, the likelihood that a woman would be shown as an employee actually was smaller during the last two years studied than it was during the first two years studied. When men and women were shown at work, they tended to be segregated from one another. While women were realistically presented as clerical workers, they were significantly underrepresented as both white and blue collar workers and this underrepresentation accelerated during the final two years studied.

Precisely why this ground loss occurred is difficult to determine. The differences are probably not due to major staffing changes. As has been seen the staffs of Ralston Purina and the Standard Oiler remained stable during the time period studied. Alcoa News

did seem to be seeking an alteration in identity during the time studied. The publication underwent a variety of format, name frequency of issuance, and staffing changes. However, the figures indicate that the number of women shown in the publication remained fairly constant throughout all these changes. Sampling error, category bias, and industry differences are always possibilities. However, it seems more likely that something in the editorial process accounts for the differences. Perhaps an increased awareness of sensitivity concerning the manner in which women are presented generated a fear that to portray is to possibly offend. Perhaps newsworthy women have not tried to make themselves known to corporate communicators. Similarly, perhaps many of the newly hired women are initially choosing to keep a low profile or did not yet realize how to make themselves known throughout the organization. Perhaps the election of the current administration with the conservative aura which surrounds it has made corporate communicators believe a return to a more traditional male dominated organization is the appropriate image to portray. Perhaps a belief that women's "problems" have all be solved has halted active efforts to include the women who are there. Perhaps the underrepresentation comes from a conscious or unconscious backlash against affirmative action programs. And, of course, perhaps corporate communicators perceive their worlds to be male dominated at every level and simply to not see women in the same ways they see men.

No matter what the reason, the study points some exciting areas for further exploration. More magazines need to be studied to further the data base from which observations may be drawn. Magazines

need also to be read for possible bias. Such content analyses need to go beyond questions of style and look at such variables as how frequently men are quoted as authorities in what areas and how frequently women are quoted as authorities in what areas. Perhaps a more realistic number of women are mentioned than are pictured. The new corporate video magazines could be analysed along the same lines to see if differences exist in them. Annual reports would be another area for analysis as would corporate recruiting brochures. Much work in the area needs to be done.

Footnotes

[1]C. Lazer and S. Dier, "The Labor Force in Fiction," Journal of Communication, Vol. 28, 1978.

[2]Matilda Butler and William Paisley, Women and the Mass Media: Sourcebook For Research And Action (New York: Human Sciences Press, 1980), p. 19.

[3]Gaye Tuchman, "The Impact of Mass Media Stereotypes Upon The Full Employment of Women," in Ann Foote Cahn, Ed., Women in the U.S. Labor Force (New York: Praegar Publishers, 1979), 249.

[4]Ibid., p. 250.

[5]For example see, Walter Anderson, "The Stereotyping of Women At Work," in his Handbook of Business Communications (New York: editor's newsletter, n.d.), pp. 32-33.

[6]Ann Stromberg and Shirley Harkess, Women Working: Theories And Facts In Perspective (Palo Alto: Mayfield Publishing, 1979), p. ix.

[7]Butler and Paisley. Hearth and Home: Images of Women in the Mass Media, ed. by Gaye Tuchman, Arlene Kaplan Daniels, and James Benet (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978). See also Virginia Elwood, "A Preliminary Bibliography: Images of Women in the Media, 1971-1976," Journalism History, Vol. 3, No. 4, Winter 1976-77, pp. 120-123, and Marion Marzolf, Ramona Rush, and Darlene Stern, "Special Supplement: The Literature of Women in Journalism History," Journalism History, Vol. 1, No. 4, Winter 1974-75, pp. 117-128.

[8]Internal Publications Directory, Vol. 5 of The 1982-83 Media Encyclopedia Working Press of the Nation (Chicago: National Research Bureau, 1982).

[9]Judy Pickens, ed., Without Bias: A Guidebook for Nondiscriminatory Communication, 2nd Ed. (New York: IABC and John Wiley & Sons, 1982).

[10]Anderson, p. 32.

[11]Ibid., p. 33.

[12]John Collier, "Evaluating Visual Data," in Jon Wagner, ed., Images of Information: Still Photography in the Social Sciences (Beverly Hills: SAGE, 1979), pp. 161-169.

[13]Butler and Paisley, p. 20.

[14]Daniel Boorstin, The Image: A Guide to Pseudo Events in America (New York: Harper & Row, 1961), p. 9.

[15]Butler and Paisley, p. 20.

[16]Without Bias, 2nd Ed., pp. 101-103.

[17]See "Cheesecake" in the Editorial Subject Index of Working Press of the Nation, Internal Publications Directory, Vol. 5, for each of the years studied.

[18]Butler and Paisley, p. 63.

[19]John Wagner, Ed., Images of Information.

[20]Ibid., pp. 147-159. Each photograph was independently coded by two coders. Agreement occurred about 90% of the time. When disagreement was found, it was either resolved to the satisfaction of both coders or the unit was considered a can't determine and was included as such. However, the latter occurred only twice.

[21]Collier, p. 165.

[22]The Working Press of the Nation, Internal Publications Directory, Vol. 5, 1980, p. I-6.

[23]Ibid.

[24]Ronald P. Lovell, Inside Public Relations (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1982), p. 242.

[25]Ibid. p. 245

[26]Internal Publications Directory, Vol. 5, 1980, p. I-74.

[27]Ibid.

[28]U.S. Labor Department, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Annual averages of "Employed Persons By Major Occupational Groups and Sex," reprinted in The World Almanac & Book of Facts 1982 (New York: Newspaper Enterprise Association, Inc., 1981, p. 114.

[29]Without Bias, pp. 100-108.

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Aluminum Company of America. Alcoa News. Jan/Feb. 1978, 1979:3, 1979:4, Dec 1980, May 1981, Oct 1981, Jan 1982, March 1982.

Ralston Purina. Ralston Purina Magazine. July/Aug. 1978; Oct 1979; 1980:1; 1980:5; 1981:4; 1982:3.

Standard Oil Company of California. Standard Oiler. March/April 1978; June/July 1978; Aug 1979; May 1980; May 1981; Sept/Oct 1981; May 1982; Sept/Oct 1982.

ABSTRACT

"Without Bias? How Selected Employee Publications Depict The Roles of Women and Men In The Corporate Structure"

While a significant number of studies have investigated mass media stereotyping of working men and women, few studies have investigated how actual working men and women are presented in internal company publications. Circulating to large numbers of employees and employee family members, such publications have potential power to influence the occupational perceptions and aspirations of both men and women. Corporate communicators are aware of this potential influence and have thoughtfully addressed the issue in such publications as the International Association of Business Communicators' sponsored guidebook, Without Bias.

But, has this concern been translated into actual editorial policy? Has the presentation of men and women in internal publications changed since such guidebooks have been available? How many men and how many women are shown and in what occupational roles are they shown? Are such portrayals in line with national employment statistics? Who are men and women shown with and in what contexts are they shown? These questions guided this study.

In order to answer these questions, an analysis of the visual content of three major industry employee publications was conducted for the time period 1978-1982. Visual content was selected for analysis because of the high visibility of such content, because such content is frequently thought of as one of the most obvious reinforcers of stereotypical images, and because such images have rarely been the subject of such research. The photograph served as the primary unit of analysis. Categories were designed according to visual anthropoligist John Collier's suggestions that patterns in visual content are best identified through the integration of a three level analysis including an item listing, a categorical listing, and an inventory of significance. The methodology also followed the guidelines set forth by sociologist Jon Wagner for avoiding errors in photograph analysis. The three magazines coded represented different industries and were all slick magazines of reasonably long tenure with fairly large circulations and running a comparable number of pages per year. Twenty percent of the issues published during the time period were read.

Overall, the study found that women seemed to lose rather than gain ground in the battle for realistic, unbiased presentation. The actual number of women presented in the magazines declined sharply. Fewer women were shown during the last two years of the study than were shown in the initial years studied. At the same time, the number of men shown increaed slightly. Throughout the study, women were much less likely to be shown as employees than were men. These differences are significant when compared with the U.S. Labor Department statistics concerning the number of men and women in the work force. And, the likelihood that a woman would be shown as an employee also decreased during the last two years studied. When men and women were shown at work, they tended to be shown segregated from one aonther. When men were shown out of the work place, they tended to be shown with other men. But, when women were shown outside the work place, they were also shown with men rather than with other women. While women were realistically presented as clerical workers, they were significantly underrepresented as both white and blue collar workers and this underrepresentation accelerated during the final two years studied. To balance such losses, only two positive aspects were isolated. No cheesecake photographs were found and the number of women shown because they were employee wives declined significantly.